

THE ERRORS
OF
Mr. PITT's
PRESENT ADMINISTRATION
MANY, RECENT, IMPORTANT,
And DANGEROUS.

[Price Two Shillings.]

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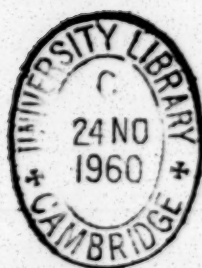
BY
A GENTLEMAN,
TOTALLY UNCONNECTED WITH FOREIGN INTERESTS
OR INTERNAL PARTIES.

Veluti in Speculum.

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1793.

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THE ADDRESS.

THAT an individual, wholly unconnected with foreign interests or internal parties, should publish his particular opinions of the general current national policy of Great-Britain and Europe, in direct opposition to the superior wisdom, discernment, and adopted proceedings of the several Courts, may not only carry with it a dubious and unfavourable construction, but to some people, perhaps, may seem even unwarrantable: entirely therefore to do away any ill impression which may so arise, it becomes necessary to appeal to the candour of all Readers, by requesting an attention to this general fact: That every man whatever, politician or no politician, imbibes so clear a sense of some particular circumstances in life, more especially when resulting from
due

due reflection, as to flash and root upon the mind that innate, impressivè conviction, which sets aside all scruple to the open declaration of a direct and decisive opinion upon every such subject, whatever it may be ; whence it must in consequence follow, that the mere act of publishing observations so founded, is not only consistently warrantable in itself, but in the event, according to the justness of them, may even prove to be not unworthy of a still more favourable construction ; for the propriety or impropriety in such case wholly and solely consists in the fitness or unfitness, truth or untruth, of whatever is so made public.

Upon this fair and undeniable ground then, the Author must necessarily be content to rest his present cause, and abide by the candid issue of the awful, unerring judgment of a generous and indulgent Public. Nevertheless, although it is said that the principles of that man are impeachable, who meanly presumes to think what his tongue or his pen dares not to state ; yet, as human nature is ever liable to err, it is with an unavoidable hesitation,

tion, arising from a doubtful and conscious ap-
 prehension of insufficiency, that the Author here
 humbly presents to general view, with fairest in-
 tent, the subsequent most high and important con-
 siderations, having also further to claim the pa-
 triot's right and privilege for so doing, the inte-
 rest of his own individual concern in the national
 welfare, which will ever be most near and dear to
 the very humble, and most devoted friend of his
 country.

THE AUTHOR.

THE

In the Royal Magazine
Vol. 7 Page 264 — Mr. Pitt
the Mr Pitt obtained Lord
pardon — Mr Pitt knows Lord
Marshall was well with the
of Spain — (He was then the Prussian
Minister at Madrid) — & being informed
by them of the secret — Family Compact
Mr. Pitt got the R R A T A. & secret out
of him — & then it was he

Page 4, line 20, for direct, read direct.

proper 9, line 14, after the word affront, insert demonstrative of
enmity. *very*

14, line 9, for shame, read ignominy.

—, line 17, after the word men, insert the ministers of a
limited monarchy.

of Gallies

30, line 2, after the word lines, insert of. — He was

37, line 17, for impolic, read impolitic.

opposed & 39, line 8, after the word "notice" there should be a pe-
the word "As," &c.
Question & then He showed
Lord Marshall's Letter

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THE ERRORS
OF
Junior Mr. PITT'S
PRESENT ADMINISTRATION
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And DANGEROUS.

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ALL the civilized nations of the earth, from the beginning of the world to the present hour, have found it absolutely necessary to establish, according to the free choice and inclination of each people, some regular form of government and some particular code of laws, as seemed to them best calculated to curb in the injustice of the unprincipled and the oppression of the powerful; by these satisfactory means, rendering to every individual, high or low, one grand general benefit; in the impartial dispensation of equal rights and proportionate advantages, in the equal security of life and property, and in the consequent produc-

B tion



tion and maintenance of peace, order, and friendly society.

Of the particular forms that are handed down to present times, the monarchical and republican are the general.

On the institution of all monarchies ; a system, at such time apparently beneficial, is established by the people, solemnly covenanted with a king, and ratified by both ; its purpose has not for consideration either the pleasure or will of the king, whose throne is erected solely for the intended entire welfare of, and by the people ; consequently (for it will not admit of any other possible construction) the whole system ever remains subject to the general inclination and determination ; whether to amend, alter, or totally set aside, as such intended welfare may become defective either in part or in whole : it further remains at the exclusive, absolute, and continual disposal of the people, for that it is an utter and positive impossibility to legislate with conclusive effect for futurity ; it is
true

true, any system may be recommended to posterity, but it must evidently remain at their option, either to adopt or to refuse it, as to their wisdom may seem best: the dead can have no power over the living.

On the institution of a republic; a system at such time apparently beneficial, is established by the people, covenanted with temporary agents, deputable at the pleasure of the people, and ratified by all. This system, being more immediately in the hands of the people, will therefore be more evidently subject to such alteration, amendment, or total change, according as benefit or no benefit results therefrom, or as the general will may at any time dictate.

It is further here to be added, that an attempt to constitute any form of government, of whatever description, independent of the future alteration, amendment, or annihilation of the people, as times and circumstances may give occasion, is neither more nor less than a weak and vain attempt to

counteract nature itself; an act of folly so decisive, as to cast upon its abettors in general, the complete denomination of supporters of usurpation, despotism, and the wrongs of mankind.

Respecting the monarchical and republican forms of government in particular, however, it undoubtedly has been and will be the nature of the world, to change on some occasions from one to the other; it is also certain, that such change can never happen, but for some fore and grievous abuse; and where indeed these abuses do exist, the consequence is perfectly natural; for when the people arrive at a competent knowledge of them, and the violation of compact is endeavoured to be maintained, in defiance of lawful remonstrances; then, whether the form be monarchical or republican, it equally falls into the immediate displeasure, and in time into the perfect hatred of the people; when, in despite of every expected temporary ill, they will wade through the direct scenes of blood and slaughter, to establish the opposite government, which ever it may be. This, rest assured,

affured, with all enlightened people, is the direct course of nature; for with them, the superior general arm of man will ever be raised to resist and crush known oppression, in whatever shape or whatever government it may be found. Thus mankind has, and ever will continue to fly from a republican to a monarchical, and from a monarchical to a republican form of government; for ever changing and re-changing, at different periods of time, from one to the other, according as evils arise in each, and the knowledge of them disperse.

But now, respecting the peculiar properties of each of these two modes of governing, as far as it concerns Great Britain.

A limited monarchy, like unto the original constitution of this country, as established at the Revolution, while and when all the various lines of administering it are pure and unperverted, is a mild, beneficial, and desirable government for mankind in general.

A repu-

A republican government is to the full as rational, and, beyond the smallest doubt, may be equally as just, as mild, and as beneficial. While pure, both merit nearly equal approbation; the monarchy excelling in splendour, refinements, and the compression of internal divisions; the republic in rationality, and a comparative smallness of expenditure.

Thus alike hath each its peculiar advantages and peculiar defects. But from mild and beneficial, both are equally changed to oppressive and injurious governments, on the instant when all, or several of the different lines of execution, that issue from the constitutional center; from the church, legislature, law, &c. &c. &c. down to the magistrate of peace and petty constable, become either so corrupt, or so weakened by time and circumstances in their effect, as to pervert the spirit and intent of their establishment.

Hence it follows, what reason, philosophy, and the soundest judgment must ever declare,
that

that of these two forms of government, that most excels which is most pure and best administered.

The man of either form therefore, who, because he lives under the one, rails at the other as worthless, acts the part of the ignorant, or the mean, underhanded, evil designing politician, dangerous to confide in. Truth, equity, and justice, the most beneficial and wisest ground of policy, needs no disguise. But senators and men high in administration, in their public capacities, abusing personally, in an illiberal manner, the constituted agents, that are deputed to the council and execution of any foreign government, good or bad, old or new; of all the direct and injurious follies with which the world abounds, are inexcusably guilty of one of the most palpable.

It is a sorry quality which forebodes much of ill, when legislatures pretend, and presume to know the affairs of another people, better than they themselves.

Every

Every government, of whatever nation, how new, how seeming strange soever, that is positively constituted, and absolutely so respected and obeyed, by the people of that nation, (directly contrary to the present practice of Europe, the opposition of which to this principle only it is that constitutes the smallest materiality to any other than the people so circumstanced) ought most indubitably, on the very instant, to be acknowledged by all foreign powers whatever; which, from distance and the prejudice of education, have neither the ability, nor the veriest shadow of right, to become even judges, much less dictators.

These, among the multiplicity of reasons, are obvious. If such government be obtained and constituted by the majority of the people in number and respectability, it is rightfully obtained, and will desperately maintain itself, in defiance of all foreign opposition; if obtained and constituted by a minority, which is next to an impossibility, it will then as surely be superseded by the majority, on that discovery, which must quickly ensue.

Every

Every nation that hath power must and will cause itself, or, in other words, its government, new or old, to be respected, according to the degree of that power: any foreign nation therefore manifesting positive disrespect, will, and can only be considered as an enemy.

In order to adapt this point to every capacity, suppose, for instance, twelve friends and neighbours in amicable company, one of the most powerful of whom, finding his coat to sit uneasy, goes forth, and returns in one of a different colour, whereupon the eleven immediately turn their backs, thereby casting upon him a marked and indubitable affront; how easily will it be perceived, that this man cannot exist with common satisfaction in his neighbourhood, without causing his just weight and consequence to be felt and maintained; hence therefore must evidently follow his bitterest resentment, as well by force as concealed machination. This is clearly the common course of nature; and it is easy to make the application to France as the one, and the coalesced powers as the

eleven. From this cause therefore, (that is to say, from the immediate refusal of the allied powers to acknowledge the new republic of France) appears clearly to have proceeded the absolute and direct origin of the present war; as from this cause only could have proceeded the succeeding conduct of that government, in their general decree against all despots, the offer of assistance to all oppressed people, the answer they gave to the addresses of particular societies of Great-Britain, and, finally, their idea of an universal republic; every one of which, amounting in effect to the declaration of a general war, carries such monstrous folly upon the face of it, in such certain disadvantage to France, supposing the surrounding nations to have previously shewn no hostile intention towards them, as clearly evinces they must have considered themselves under the immediate necessity, by such acts of desperation, to stagger the resolution of an intended, impending interference, by Great-Britain, Germany, Prussia, and their allies.

Thus,

Thus, perhaps through error, has injustice begat injustice, and unsheathed the sword of inveterate vengeance, to witness scenes of blood unparalleled; yet such, so woefully cruel must be every war, which has for its object the causing of a numerous people to establish a government for themselves, which galling experience has previously occasioned them to abhor. The principle of such a war of opinion is neither more nor less than saying, "Thou wretch, thou slave, although the matter is not my concern but thine, yet thou shalt think as I do think, or die!"—Oh! blind infatuation! to prompt a reasonable being to such detestable purposes.

It is now however necessary to add, that the forcibly changing of any form of government is, of all worldly acts, (by its surely terrible and bloody consequences) that of the greatest importance to a people themselves; and is such as nothing but dire oppression can possibly warrant. Yet, notwithstanding this, positively, in the eyes of foreign nations, it is to be considered but as the

very changing of a coat; for if the newly constituted government be bad in itself, as well as in the choice of its agents, the greater the advantage to the surrounding nations, which will of course become so much the more guarded in their treaties. But if, on the contrary, the new government be just, wise, equitable, and beneficial, then, although it is true there may be an imaginary cause for apprehension, yet, not one whit the less doth every law, human and divine, every principle of justice and equity, interfere in the most pointed manner, to prevent the unnatural oppression of foreign intrusion. And further, respecting the forcibly changing a form of government, consider, that the circumstance must be absolutely impracticable in itself, without good, sufficient, and solid cause previously given; for the timely consequences of revolutions alone (exclusive of the natural bias of the mind to favour the government under which it has been matured) are so universally known to be fraught with desolation, as, with good reason, to smother and gloss over many and long continued abuses, even to the extent of
man's

man's utmost forbearance, ere he can possibly be aggravated to so determined a remedy. Wherefore it is evident, that all governments have only to be moderately just, and the revolutions of one nation will not produce that of another.

Under these considerations therefore, the present interference of the allied powers with the internal government of France, becomes perfectly odious to reflection; it infringes, nay, sets at defiance the wisest laws of nations and of nature; and what is the worst of all possible notorious tendencies, it annihilates at one stroke every attempt at the reformation of governments in general, how oppressive and arbitrary soever. In fact, this conduct once established as a precedent, adieu, an everlasting adieu, even to rational liberty, either in thought or deed; the glorious pride, the boast of Englishmen, is from that instant no more; nay, the whole people of Europe would be one and all so completely yoked, that even their groans would in time become the very mockery of their respective governments, thus grown bold and tyrannical in
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the security of a combined league of powers, ever ready to maintain their monstrous usurpation. And that such a combined league, wherein Great-Britain forms a leading character, has at length taken place, (stipulating with each party not to lay down their arms until they shall have set up such a government in France, as they may judge to suit their own convenience) is now publicly announced, to the eternal shame and disgrace of the kingdom. Britons, you may well be ashamed; remonstrate now, or never, against this dangerous measure, by every legal means that can possibly be embraced; or woe indeed perhaps to ourselves, but surely to posterity.

Next observe, in direct contradiction to present practice, that it is not positively with any particular man or men, mere instruments, or with any particular form of government, that national treaties are to be considered as made and contracted; but absolutely between nation and nation, people and people. This is a principle in politics so obvious and rational, that it is most wonderful to

to observe with what industry, and with what success it has been, and continues to be, artfully counteracted.

Great-Britain doubtless ranks high in power, in the estimation of the several courts of Europe; and it is hoped will justly continue to do so. This however is neither promoted, or long to be maintained, by usurping an inequitable authority over the several courts that are inclined to preserve a neutrality in the present contest of the allied powers against France. Of all acts of injustice, there cannot be one more conspicuous, than to force any neutral power into war against inclination; the attendant calamities of a state of warfare are by much too dreadful, to impose upon any peaceable people in this wilful manner; the idea is shocking to humanity; it is a disgrace to any nation to countenance such presumptuous proceedings. A haughty and dictatorial style, in this respect, however supported by a like conduct of allies, may superficially appear to serve a momentary purpose; but in the end these imperial mandates, so
nearly

nearly bordering upon commands to the neutral powers, by infringing upon the general laws of nations, and thus confounding the wisest systems of the world; exclusive of exciting a probable united present, or future resentment of these powers, may, and will justly retort upon such measures their due deserts. Where is the true Briton, that can conscientiously approve of a perverse abuse of the blessing of national prosperity? None can surely be found; but all will freely join in insisting, that whatever act, of whatever nature, this country undertakes, it shall be honourable in itself, its purpose shall be honourable, and it shall be honourably effected, with high good faith to all.

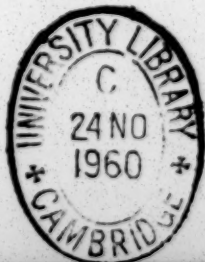
Now then, thus clearly manifest being the injustice, and general injurious tendency of the present stated object of the war against the new government of France; which object, whether nominal or real, is equally, in its future consequences, so fatal to liberty: there remains, nevertheless, honestly to declare this lamentable truth, that although

though peace to a nation, is indubitably, in general, the most precious gift of Heaven; yet, also, must it be declared, that self-preservation is Nature's law.

Wherefore, although France should certainly have been perfectly free to form for herself whatever government to her people might seem best, and in the establishment of which government no other power should have assumed a voice, yet, in perfect candour, it must also be as truly stated, that France in becoming a republic, at the same time became possessed of such an immediate fund of public pecuniary resources, as perhaps dangerously to exceed those of Great Britain and the neighbouring kingdoms; which, with the renovated spirit of the French, newly flushed with liberty, together with the exertions they had manifested, stamped them, in the scale of Europe, as a nation whose increased strength might detrimentally disturb the safety and tranquillity of the surrounding powers. Taking up the cause, therefore, on this matter of probability, it is first to be

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considered, whether Great-Britain should endure a certain, positive, grievous ill, by going to war, in order to ward off a future event of absolute uncertainty ; for it may be said with great reason, that had France been left to herself, that country would early have been over-run with intestine broils, which would so quickly have reduced, even below the common level, all the newly acquired extraordinary degree of power of that republic, as to expose to view this imagined danger, as the mere shadowy phantom of misguided apprehension.

But however, of these two events, fully equal in probability, it may nevertheless have been right to guard against that, which might, per very great chance, endanger the independent safety of the kingdom. Wherefore, on the score of preserving the general heretofore accustomed balance of wealth and strength in this part of the globe, a bold, open, manly declaration of war, in conjunction with allies, might have been so far justifiable, as having for its avowed purpose and stated object, the curtailment of the suddenly increased power of the French,

French, and confining them fully within such limits of security, in every political point of view, as to restore the general confidence and tranquillity of Europe ; for there can be no doubt, that France, whether a monarchy or a republic, must, in both cases, be equally the common enemy of this country ; being so situated in latitude and productions, in proximity and the benefit of sea-ports, as naturally to be, and remain, the formidable rival of Great Britain, as well in commerce and maritime trade, as in the great advantage of a powerful navy.

Even such a war, however free from the execrable measure of interfering in the internal establishment of a foreign government, has nevertheless infinitely more of danger in its consequences than seems to be generally foreseen. In the first place, it must be a war of conquest, which is always uncertain in its issue ; and in the next place, should it be completely successful, the necessary expence must be such, as to be very long, very many years, before these conquests can repay the

principal and interest of the money they cost ; and until that time does actually arrive, if ever such will be, the nation receives no absolute balance of gain, however brilliant the success of our arms.

But an effect infinitely worse than this is much too seriously to be dreaded ; the consequent accumulation of new taxes, that must necessarily be laid upon the people, added to the oppressive load already upon the country, becomes, without exaggeration, fearful to think of ; for when the number who can afford, and the numbers who cannot afford, to pay any new additional levies, are considered, it is impossible to say that their collection will not be resisted.

Indeed, upon this particular part of the subject, it may be well to dwell ; as a warning to government, to be sparing of the blood and treasure of the kingdom, by avoiding all possible causes of war, as the certain bane to the very existence of the state ; which will quickly appear, by taking an enlarged, or rather rational view, of the system of
funding

funding in general; for even this alone it is that will, according to every probable appearance, by entering rashly into a succession of needless wars, prove the ultimate general ruin of Europe; the very most of whose governments seem strangely to forget, that they are supported by one very slender thread; for it is merely the precarious confidence of the people that is their coiner, their power, their very life and existence; which is necessarily to be destroyed by overstraining, and terrible the consequences whenever this may happen; and such must surely be the case with those powers who enter deeply into this enticing principle of funding, which is, in its express nature, to soften the present evil, by piling up misfortune upon misfortune for futurity. For depend upon this, vain and fruitless is the hope of decreasing a national debt, when once grown oppressive: therefore, happy would it have been for mankind, if this principle had never been introduced, which has so long been the grand destructive instrument and promoter of war, the most fatal of all public evils. Indeed, it is truly curious to observe, with what

an easy conscience, race upon race, age upon age, have been thus continually casting the load of their follies and their vices, the effects of their weak policy and ambitious purposes, from themselves upon the succeeding, unto the present generation; who, with the profoundest apathy also, have been just as unconcernedly playing the same subtle game; and so will necessarily continue to do, laying tax upon tax, duty upon duty, until the people will at last affuredly determine to rid themselves of this monster in politics, which destroyed, in one or two instances, the whole system throughout Europe, must receive its final *coup-de-grace*.

Every man knows, that very many of the wars, the heavy burthen of which we are now bearing, have been neither necessary nor justifiable; and hence will ere long proceed this very natural question, Why should we be loaded and oppressed with almost insupportable taxes, for the faults of past times? Each period should have undoubtedly furnished its own expenditure. The stale tale that wars
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are waged, and the expences of them incurred, for the benefit of posterity, might be the misguided origin, but will no longer pass current, as sufficient reason for any but an unavoidable endurance of so baneful a system as that of funding. Of the truth and soundness of this argument, the national debt of Great-Britain, this instant affords a striking example; experience is both irresistible and unanswerable.

However it must again be repeated, that these preceding remarks upon our paper property, amounting to so many millions, are expressly written to shew to Government, in its full but true colours, the absolute necessity of avoiding future wars, and of carrying on that we are now engaged in at the smallest possible expence that an assurance of success will admit; which, in fact, does not appear to be the case at present, as will hereafter be demonstrated, in a separate discussion of the fitness of a continental land war to the ability of these islands; also to shew, that the buzz of reform and retrenchment has perfect and grand reason; for
evident

evident it must surely be to all, that it is only one continued parsimony of public expenditure, that can now revive our dejected expectations. But nevertheless, still, after all that precedes upon the subject of our favourite system of funding, it must be finally added, that having entered into this cause so far, we must per force go on, and endeavour to revive a fond hope for the best, taking for our motto,

A long Peace, Reform, and no Profusion.

That the Roman Catholic religion is an establishment subjecting a people to the baneful influence of a numerous priesthood, whereby it becomes completely favourable to despotic governments, is not to be doubted; and therefore it is, that it will always be favoured more or less by all kings and governments generally; and wherefore also it is, that it becomes the very particular business of a free people to counteract that effect, by watching narrowly the conduct of their rulers on a point so material to their liberties: to encourage and grant indulgencies to this religion at home, and at the same time absolutely make war for its
express

exprefs establishment abroad, and this in France, a numerous and neighbouring nation too, is positively not the policy to be approved by the people of England, though it may by their government.

Any system or establishment whatever, either in religion or otherwise, that is materially unfavourable to mankind, a true politician will upon all occasions discourage. This constitutes, or should constitute one of the first maxims in all governments.

It may be said, that the encouraging a detrimental religion or system of any kind in France is an advantage to Great-Britain ; but this is a mean, sorry, and worthless rule, that tends to keep the world in utter darkness and ignorance ; and however it might perhaps be adopted by some in the more immaterial lines, certainly, on the point of religion, to which all people have an equal claim, it is not to be defended on any ground. The French have rightfully for themselves thrown reli-

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gion open, in order to wean their people from bigotry, superstition, and a dependence upon priests, which the coalesced powers have pronounced atheism; but under this mock pretence, to behold Great-Britain at the expence of blood and treasure, holding forth chains for the purpose of enslaving both mind and body, is not silently to be endured; it carries too much injustice upon the face of it. And further, by the proximity of France, when the future intercourse becomes general, the contagious pomp and superstition of the Romish church may not improbably reach this country, and an influence, on some favourable opportunity, be exerted, to support that contagion, destructive to the freedom of Great-Britain; and thus deservedly retort the disadvantage intended for France upon ourselves; for such is the course and consequence of the adoption of dishonourable principles.

As to religious state establishments in general, they are either a right or a wrong principle; if right, they should be strictly maintained; if
wrong,

wrong, should be totally removed, and the people left to the free choice of whatever religion their consciences might dictate. Thus far however is certain, that the medium (which is the present policy of Great Britain) is obviously productive of intestine contests for superiority; the permitting at pleasure the public education of a sect or sects, inimical to the state establishment, can have no other effect, than ultimately to bring the numbers that are for and against it nearly upon a par; when a civil war follows of course.

By the Gazette of 27th September last, the public are informed of the high preferment of a reverend doctor to the bishoprick of Rochester; and in the very same Gazette, it is with some surprize perceived, that the very same reverend gentleman is promoted to the deanery of St. Peter, Westminster. There is not the smallest question of the capability and merit of this, no doubt, very worthy divine; but all merit or demerit is entirely out of the present consideration. The conferring any two or more separate dignities, appointments,

or livings in the church, upon one person, is so well known to every puny politician to be a palpable grievous perversion of a positive good; so well known to constitute one of the several causes of the present encreasing defection from the establishment; so well known to be an oppressive infringement upon the rights of the inferior clergy; so well known completely to destroy all the energy of the church, rendering it at once an almost useless and insupportably expensive load, which thus persevered in, must assuredly end in its final destruction; that it is wonderful to behold, in times like these, which are not for trifling, men so thoughtless, so weakly presumptuous, as to advise direct known wrongs, however such wrongs have been sanctioned, by the unwise encroachments of darker periods. Conduct like this, must now alarm every man who considers the fatal consequences that must result from such needless, impolitic, oppressive stimulants to the discontent of a generous people.

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The very same argument also holds good as to the impropriety and unconstitutionality of granting two or more benefits, appointments, or places, to a single individual, throughout any department of the state; and all that remains further to be said on this point is, that whenever either the line of religion, or any other line of government, becomes so, or in any manner corrupted and abused, it is the immediate business of a people in general to insist implicitly, without the smallest palliative, but in a peaceable and constitutional method, on their positive and perfect reformation; for no truth is more certain, than that every such abuse, in whatever line, and of whatever nature, is a high and arrogant insult to the understanding of every individual of a kingdom.

After what has been herein before stated, concerning the abuses of governments and their consequences, it is with sincere regret that it becomes necessary to observe, for the immediate and sole purpose of a timely prevention of such consequences, that although the constitution of Great-Britain

Britain is indisputably good, yet, undoubtedly, many of the various distinct lines governing that issue from it, are certainly much abused, and in some cases even perverted from their original intent; and whether the cause originates and proceeds from the common change of times and circumstances, or they are occasioned more immediately by the wilful neglect, faults, and corruption of government, is not a matter of the smallest moment; it is fully sufficient that they do exist, to require a timely and salutary consideration.

It is very true that abuses may be said to arise more or less in all governments; but it is as true that that is neither reason nor excuse for their continuance; for what is further true is, that to give a just reason, or to state a sufficient excuse for any known abuse in any government, is, to all intents and purposes, an utter impossibility. It is pretended however, that alteration from current usage is dangerous at any time, but that these times are particularly critical, and therefore to reform, or, in other words, to do right now, would
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tend only to inflame the people, by shewing them that they are right. No, say our wise men, we must continue injustice, oppression, and wrong, as the means of keeping the people quiet, by convincing them that they are wrong. Oh! miserable subterfuge! most wonderful folly!—a very likely false truly, to heal the wounds of discontent by the continuance of their occasion!—Alas! would that the people had both to learn and to experience! No; the crisis in this respect is already past; for they have already learnt, and have already experienced. To be fearful of substantiating that two and two make four, because it may for a time have been reckoned three, is no principle whereon to build the government of nations, or whereon to form the reasonable expectation of peace and order. It is surely sufficient to perceive the past error to apply the immediate remedy; or, as a house built upon a rotten foundation, the fabrick must fall. It is therefore materially faulty in the present administration not to quiet and relieve the minds of the people in times like these, by an honest assurance, that every existing evident abuse,

throughout

throughout every department of church, law, and state, shall be taken into satisfactory consideration on the earliest fit occasion, and every salving remedy that prudence and fair intent will warrant be faithfully applied, as the only effectual means of rooting out all reasonable disaffection; then indeed would the monarchy of this country assume its original due attraction, that first gained it the support and general approbation of the people; the benefit of which must be glaring, when it is considered, that the same identical cause, or, in other words, the good solid grounds that then operated that effect, would certainly now and ever produce the very same. Then, give freedom to the press, let disaffected authors write; give liberty to thoughts, let republicans murmur; give privilege to discussion, let all the world compare governments, and that of Great-Britain will stand permanent, unshaken, and fearless. This is the noble, and only policy at which to aim; the firm rock on which to build the internal peace and happiness of our kingdom.

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However, not to leave the slenderest doubt on a subject so important, it must be observed, that it is not an alteration of the constitution itself that is either neccessary or here recommended (which, if touched at all, should be done most sparingly), but merely a reparation of the many separate lines of government that issue from it; and therefore it is judged to be not only erroneous, but highly dangerous, to think of throwing open to the general common mass of the people, the right of chusing members of parliament; a measure which would unavoidably create and perpetuate most infinite confusion, as well as form a material direct encroachment upon a grand part of the constitution itself, that might not improbably endanger the whole.

And further, as there would certainly be two opposite opinions upon this matter, it becomes obvious, that it would be highly preferable in the execution of a reform, unless absolutely and entirely forced to it by a constant persevering obstinacy in government, to commence and proceed,

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not with the House of Commons, or any part of the constitution itself, but with a revision, upon which there can be but one impartial and disinterested opinion ; that is to say, of the church, law, offices of government, sinecure places and pensions, navy, military, police, prisons, and the like ; all which, though a work of great labour, may no doubt be securely effected, without risque or injury to the leading principles, form and groundwork of our constitution ; which, on the contrary, by this very effect, as has been before sufficiently traced, would then stand firm in the tenfold security of its own excellence.

As to despotic monarchies, they are now happily increasing in the general detestation of the world ; and this will further be quickened, by adverting to the present state of Poland, which is lamentable indeed ; but nevertheless an interference in the affairs of that people is not by any means the business of these islands ; it immediately concerns the continental powers only, who indeed ought to have virtue and honour, ever prompt to assist

assist their neighbour unjustly oppressed ; and it is with sincere concern that tyrants are beheld reigning unopposed, and paramount to every just principle of equity and good faith ; setting at defiance the laws of nations, and destroying the salutary and wise barriers of general government, instituted for the express purpose of preserving a reciprocal advantageous confidence between nation and nation throughout Europe. But happily the inference to be drawn from this conduct will be ultimately favourable to the world, as it exposes despotic monarchies in their true light, as pampered courts, where sits enthroned, under false appearances, vile corruption, obdurate sacrilege, unbounded ambition, and every fatality that can attend the government of remorseless beings, bent on the enslaving or destruction of unoffending man.

Next comes in question the method of war most favourable to the interest of our small territory and population : and here it must be asserted, that a continental land war is of all others directly con-

trary to that interest ; for when the numbers which the powers on the continent can bring into the field, and afford to lose, is compared with the handful of men which we can oppose to them, the contest becomes clearly ridiculous : and also when this country is the principal in such a war, and employs or stimulates the assistance of allies, exclusive of the money spent abroad upon our own armies, these allies must have satisfactory recompence, whereby the wealth of the nation is clearly exported never to return ; a measure infinitely too visibly ruinous to our finances to need further comment, than merely to state that such a war, so conducted, must ultimately prove disadvantageous on this score also. And on the further strange, though only comprehensible score, that of expecting any very accidental acquisition of continental territory or fortified place, either to remain in our hands for any continued duration of years, or to repay the expence of acquiring it. There is particularly to observe, that every effort on our part to maintain a very unlikely subjection of a continental scope of territory, must in its nature prove vain and fruitless

fruitless even to an impossibility. And as to the accidental subjection of detached fortifications, such as Toulon or Dunkirk ; first consider the immense expence of a war to acquire them ; next, the prodigious cost of their ordinary maintenance ; and lastly, the continual wars that maintenance must produce (for there cannot be two opinions on their proving in such case an unceasing bone of contention), which (what is by no means likely) should they all even prove what is called successful, these, together with the preceding expences of them, must nevertheless cause us ultimately to pay a price one hundred fold the value to be reaped from such our conquests. Here again then the balance is infinitely against this country ; therefore on every account it appears to all reasonable comprehension, that it is highly impolitic to engage at any time as a principal in a war of this nature, which may be deservedly stiled rash and ridiculous ; for it is once for all shortly repeated, that no possible object to be obtained, neither conquests, possessions, or acquisitions of any kind, will ever repay, or nearly repay to this kingdom as a principal, their consuming cost of a continental land war.

This evident fact becomes here completely applicable to two purposes; the one, to corroborate in an exemplary manner, that it is not for these small islands, however the heart must will, to attempt the rescue of the suffering Polanders, with such our very impotent continental resources; both as well because every such endeavour must be unproductive of its object, as also because by distance and complete separation, it is absolutely not of our appertaining; therefore to embroil this country in further wars on such account, would be an act of over officious zeal, neither to be justified, required, nor expected. The other, to shew that the method of war we are at this hour pursuing, is not such as the true policy of these islands will warrant; when the security of the frontiers of Holland became fully obtained by our assistance as an ally, the British troops positively had no other justifiable or obtainable object on the continent, as an offensive principal; his highness of York might indeed have led on Hessians and Hanoverians at their own expence, according to the will of our sovereign as elector; but every individual Briton

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in arms should then have been, and ought now to be immediately withdrawn; giving to our allies these most sufficient reasons: First, that of a general disinclination of the people, to take part as a principal, in any land war upon the continent, exclusive of the very insignificant efficacy of such a measure:

Secondly, that of serving the purpose of our allies much more effectually, by directing our power and strength to that line in which it is formidable, with greater force against the navy and trade of France: and lastly, that of employing the withdrawn troops, against foreign settlements of that nation, where they would not only be victorious, but these victories, together with the destruction of their trade and navy, would also at the same time render infinitely more solid advantage to the coalesced powers, (by weakening the very direct means, by which only the republic of France could remain formidable and injurious to them) than by the continuance of our shallow efforts and insignificance on the continent.

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Should however, what is by no means probable, these our present allies, take groundless umbrage at such our conduct; after the courteous offer of the foregoing fair and honest reasons, then, most firm in conscious rectitude, neither memorials, remonstrances, entreaties, or threats, should occasion the slightest deviation, or indeed with difficulty draw forth our further notice as to the advantages to be derived by great Britain, from the policy here recommended—they speak for themselves—our expence would be comparatively much less; would be of the best nature, (principally naval) and to conclude this point, with the use of a common but very striking phrase, “ we should have something to shew for our money.”

Indeed the capture of one or more of the French West-India Islands, would be particularly acceptable at this time; for exclusive of the more obscure, though certain variety of consequent advantages, it may be naturally expected to ease the people from the imposing price, their principal produce, sugar, now bears here; yet even this favourable

able consequence may, according to present policy, be absolutely counteracted by duty and exportation.

It is believed that it will not be a singular opinion, however it may appear to our present refined and leading statesmen (who in this instance have certainly frittered away all reality of substance) to assert with firm confidence, that the ease, comfort and convenience of the people in general, where it can be produced without important injury, is, or ought to be, the first, grand, and superseding object to be aimed at in the regulation of national trade and commerce—there can be no doubt of it. Whence then comes it that an importation of sugar, so very much wanted, was effectually prevented, by a refusal to lower the duty of that commodity to the East-India Company, when it must be obvious, that the deficiency in the amount of such duty would have been amply made up by the increased quantity imported, exclusive of the further advantages of both an additional home manufacture and increased exportation, that must have

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consequently arisen from an assent to the required measure ; and this refusal too, at a time when our West-India merchants were for the most part each of them gaining immense fortunes, in every single successive year ; fortunes so large and rapid, as even in that particular respect to injure the settled state of the country, the natural consequence of such events ?

Indeed, it seems a vain attempt to answer this question satisfactorily, or to discover the round about, or at least sufficient reasons, that could have determined government to keep up the price of sugar so enormously high, to the indisputable inconvenience and even distress of the people.—What ! is the whole community materially to suffer for the benefit of a few individual West-India merchants ? Are the fruits of honest industry to be thus generally drawn forth from the pockets of the needy, for the superfluous, absolutely superfluous emolument of any particular set of men whatever ? no ; certainly not. And trifling as may seem the price of sugar, the policy in question
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is of no small daring ; it has doubtless, however, answered its only comprehensible purpose ; it has secured opulent friends both in and out of the **H**ouse of Commons. Alas ! it is indeed a painful reflection upon the frailty of human nature, to exemplify that men who never felt what it is to want, are much too apt to be regardless of the wants of others.

Having now sufficiently referred to many of the most important political events of the last and current year, as far as the interest of Great-Britain therein warrants a general scrutiny, there lastly remains particularly to draw the more immediate apposite inference therefrom ; which will be easily foreseen to produce a set of serious and heavy charges against Mr. Pitt's present administration. It will also doubtless have been observed, that these take their first data from the origin of the present war with France ; for previous to that period, it is candidly acknowledged, there did not appear to be any material ground of complaint against their administrative conduct, more than

falls to the common lot of trivialities, to which every minister, perhaps more than every other man, must always be liable. Indeed, even more than this will be very freely declared, inasmuch as until that time the affairs of this kingdom were indubitably directed and led by them, in a train so prosperous and flourishing, as rendered a continuance of that train covetable perhaps beyond others.

And further, prior to the final dismissal of this short panegyric, it is but justice also to add, that as far as a superficial attention to the late settlement of the East-India Company's new charter, will authorise so public an affirmation, the thanks of the public appear in this respect to be very sincerely due to Mr. Dundas, for the conspicuous pains he has taken, and the extraordinary ability he has shewn in the conclusion of this settlement, as well as for the general advantages that result therefrom; which are not only so clearly stated, but seem to be so evident in themselves, as sensibly to strike the comprehension even upon a common reading. Would indeed that the subsequent

fequent conduct of administration had merited the same encomium ; for by the ensuing statement will be produced a most unfortunate contrast.

The errors they have since committed are too gross and palpable, and of a nature too consequential and dangerous to justify the neglect (that would be highly inexcusable in any man who perceived them) of suffering such false policy to pass on, with all their train of ills attached thereto, without endeavouring to remedy or counteract them by a public exposition, as the only known means by which they may yet perhaps in part be either prevented, retrieved, or entirely done away.

First then, the present administration, most fatally for the interest of Great-Britain and the whole world, do err ; in general, as to their stated opinion, that no people of any nation have a right either to alter or to change their form of government ; and in particular, by an attempt to deprive the French of that right. The consequence of a successful establishment of this their ground work
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would be, destruction to the liberties of this country ; for then indeed most apparently, by a succession of gradual encroachments, the people might be ultimately bought, sold, and fettered at the pleasure of their rulers, thus (together with the support of foreign governments) paramount to all opposition, change, or alteration.—Beware of such a precedent.

2. They most pointedly have erred also in casting a primary, instant, open, inimical odium, in their collective public capacities, on the new system of government adopted by France in particular, and at one and the same time on a republican form in general ; the various evil consequences of which are demonstrably these : it has first occasioned, as it naturally must, a retort of at least equal injury by France, and it may also be expected to produce the occasional retort of all other republics ; but these retorts are so far only to be considered in a general way.

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Next it produces a retort also of a particular nature, that is to say, the most absurd and inexcusable kind of war that it is possible to wage; one form against another form of government, and this for the form's sake only, because each people are satisfied with their own. Another evil that results from this offending odium, in conjunction with that of our allies, is the having pointedly and unnaturally wrought into an event of injurious and formidable importance to Great Britain and Europe, that which would otherwise, and left to itself, have had no such significance. Observe, that it is not here meant to say, that the establishment of the French republic had not any result of consequence to this country, but refers merely to the particular nature of the government only. In short, any men whatever, but the legislature and ministers in particular of either monarchy or republic, who use these abusive mean railings at a form of government with which there may be occasion to treat, must absolutely be denounced by common sense for rank ignorance, or some disguised design of neither fair nor avowable import.

3. It is even a more conspicuous error in our ministers and legislature, to have descended so miserably low as to revile and abuse, in language scarcely decent, the very persons of the National Convention and administration of France. Be it however remembered, that each single individual, so scurrilously abused, is elected to his duty by the very particular preference of a numerous multitude of men, who are certainly beyond the smallest doubt infinitely better judges of his merits than our random, thoughtless foreign libellers can possibly be. But lastly, above all let it be remembered, that those who compose the Convention and government of that nation, be they who or whatever they may, are collectively France itself; and that being so, France, as well as every other power so treated, will assuredly not fail to avenge the insult. But now entirely to personalize this matter, (as being apparently a subject of that nature) see the inward vanity and weak pride of these self-conceited, little minded revilers: "We are Britons: Who so great so good as we? high in renown, in honour, in truth, in justice, in understanding,

standing, and in blood ; we are neither to be tempted by bribe, nor swayed by interest ; and are judges supreme in our own opinion of all things that concern us, or do not concern us, equally whether acquainted or ignorant of the nature of them ; and also of the hear-say qualities and demerits of all men present or distant, countrymen or foreigners, equally the known as the perfect stranger. We are lords paramount of the globe ! What ! in France, men of sense and honour ?—No—in France there are none like us !”——Is it possible that such can be the chosen approved ministers and conductors of Great-Britain ?—Oh, pitiful ! contemptibly pitiful ! equally whether taken in a public or a private view.

4. But administration much more capitally and consequentially erred, in withdrawing our ambassador from Paris, without the proper, natural and necessary caution, of this open, ingenuous, amicable, positive assurance, “ that as soon as ever the new constitution of France was settled, and the order of the nation and capital secured ; on that

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very hour the ambaffador of Great-Britain fhould prepare for a certain return, exprefsly to acknowledge whatever form of government, of whatever nature, the people of France might chufe to eftablifh, and themfelves conform to." Had fuch been the conduct of our court, we fhould then, in the greateft probability, have had no French emiffaries fowing the feeds of difcord, and ftriving up fedition among us, or any other act on the part of France, whereon to found a reasonable complaint ; then firm in the wifdom and excellence of our own real constitution, we fhould have had nothing to fear, either externally or internally, either from comparifon or example ; but in acting as we have done, we have directly given rife to internal apprehenfions, as well as foreign war ; and further, our wifdom comes ftrangely in queftion, when we confider that France, although changed from a monarchy to a republic, was then ftill the fame, if not fuperior in means of defence and offence. No, we would not war with the form of its monarchy, but we will, neverthelefs, war with the form of its republic ; although the ftrength of the nation,

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that is to say, the people, are the same, their war-like abilities even increased, their swords, their guns, their cannon, their ramparts, their fortified towns and cities, their sea-ports and arsenals, all, all were the same, but a mere form different.—A noble cause for war, truly, this, is it not ?

5. Another error, because it is a mean artifice designedly to blind the multitude of Great-Britain, is, that of endeavouring to excuse the not acknowledging the new government of France, by pointing to the present distress and terrible difficulties under which that people labour, and to some few perhaps impeachable characters in the convention. To the latter shallow attempt, it must be stated, that on the actual point of considering a form of government like that of a republic, if the system and constitution are good in themselves, as well as their general principles, the men who at that particular period of time happen to compose the convention or government, whether they are good or bad, are to all intents and purposes entirely out of any such question ; for it is too obvious almost to

say, that a republican convention quickly changes, and must even continue to change its persons, whenever the people of such republic discover characters therein unworthy of their further confidence; and by the very same act are also then replaced, such as may be deemed respectable and honourable. As to the former, that is to say, the attributing the present distress and difficulties of France to the form of government they have adopted, this intended cloak to the preceding error of our administration will also be drawn aside.

Let any, or that form of government which now maintains the completest order, either Prussian, German, or British, be attacked in such its form by a numerous combination of powers, like unto that which now oppresses France; and it must be evident to a child, that each and every such form of government, would be thrown into equal, if not more confusion, distress, and difficulties, than that which now reigns there; it or they would be under the same identical necessity, and would, if they could, use the very same distaining

straining means, influence, and harsh energy, which now per this force only constitutes the present questionable theme of opprobrium.

See then, oh, Britons, the cunning deceit of the designing ministers, as well of this country as of all the various powers who form this monstrous combination of unjust oppression. They first become the actual instruments of pointedly causing a cruel state of rebellion, desolation, and dismay, to the millions of France, and then most artfully and abominably throw, or attempt to throw, the whole odium and desperate consequences of it from themselves upon the new French system of government.

7. Our ministers have also heaped error upon error, by their hauteur of conduct to the French envoy, sent to us openly and expressly to propose terms of securing a peace between both powers, upon our acknowledgment of their republic. This country was in a great measure a leading kingdom; and as we acted upon this point, so some,
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if not many other nations would follow. But Messrs. Chauvelin and Maret, although deputed by a great and powerful people, were treated with comparative contempt, and refused the rights of the diplomatic corps; they were not admitted to be heard as plenipotentiaries; this one single act, independent of any other offence, was, on our part, completely tantamount to a direct declaration of war; no power on earth but would, and absolutely must resent such perfect contempt, even at their utmost hazard. Here then again is a further corroboration and repetition of the same dishonourable conduct and mean artifice; like mere children at school, our administration cry, See, bear witness, we are not the aggressors; France has hit us first; has given the first blow; while at the same time, in this very single instance, it evidently appears, that such blow was to all intents and purposes unavoidable, and most richly merited, by having previously, as it were, spit in the face of a great people, who wanted neither the means nor the power to resent it: but as in the preceding error, so in this, our crafty politicians would meanly endeavour

deavour to throw the original aggression from their own misconduct entirely upon the new government of France. Justice and honour are due to all, even to our enemies.

7. Our administration have continued to err too, by presuming to offer to this country a groundless palliative as an excuse ; first, for not acknowledging the new republic ; and secondly, for the rejection of the proffered amity of France by Messrs. Chauvelin and Maret. This curious excuse stated, that there was no man, no particular man, or men, in France, with whom to negotiate with any certainty of the fulfilment of a treaty. But this, however, is much too shallow and dangerous an artifice to let pass into belief ; because it is most completely evident, that those who are for a moment acknowledged by the French, or any people, decidedly to constitute their government, are those most certainly, with whom for that moment (if during that moment negotiation be necessary) we should undoubtedly treat ; and though these executors were changed monthly for years together,

gether, it is clearly those who hold the reins of government for the time being, no matter how short, with whom it is the duty of every nation or kingdom possessing a desire, or actually meaning to preserve peace, at once to apply to, negotiate, and treat with, without an offensive expression of doubts, fears, or scruples, that can only arise from a lurking disposition of enmity, whatever feigned appearances may seem to the contrary. But in all such negotiations, however, should those who so quickly follow in the seat of government either break, or not completely fulfil the treaties so made to our satisfaction, we must then, as often as this should be repeated, treat again and again with fifty new successors, if necessary, until satisfaction be had, in the strict performance of whatever had been so stipulated ; and finally, in default of which, then indeed an open declaration of war would be both consistent and justifiable. But this would be attended with too much trouble for our administration forsooth : to run the risque of reconsiderations of a treaty with one and the same nation would not suit their convenience ; no, rather let
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the people of each country be wotund up to an enthusiastic rage against each other, then declare war, and set them fighting for they scarcely know what, and let the event take its course, administration will probably be gainers by territory, income, and influence; and though the people may nevertheless be more sadly burthened, they will easily be satisfied it is all for their good: but again, as to the paltry excuses in question, they were certainly neither to be approved by this country, nor suffered by France; for what does it state, but a direct opinion, that that republic would neither preserve faith, honour, nor treaties of any kind; and therefore we would place no confidence in, or even treat with such a nation of scoundrels. It is true this epithet is gross, but our offence to them is completely tantamount to it. Here then is another act on our part amounting also to a declaration of war, and well warranting that blow, by the means of which, as it has just been observed, we so meanly and unjustly throw the odium of aggression on the republic of France. But exclusive of this consequence, the excuse alluded to sets ministers,

and all such negociators, in a light much too lofty and glaring, and directly aims at fixing upon them an importance far beyond what is either due, necessary, or just; nay, even above that of a nation itself; for it is evident in the excuse in question, the minister of France is considered of more material consequence than the whole nation collectively; nay, more, for the minister is considered of the whole and only consequence, which is certainly as curious an assumption of ministerial dignity, influence, and error, as the world can well instance. Still, however, the injustice of it goes far beyond this. “No, says our lordly minister to the French, I do not approve of the men you have chosen and appointed to the execution of your affairs; you must appoint others, even such as I shall direct, or I shall go to war with you.” Even all this is implied in the above excuse. Whereas it must be needless almost to say, that it is the express duty of our minister to take those of every other power just as he finds them, and to make all treaties accordingly, to the best advantage that circumstances will admit; and it is positively

tively the nations only, their power, produce, the balance of trade, and such circumstances, that are the whole and sole object of consideration; and of course, whether the ministers who are treated with are all Mr. Pitts, Mr. Robespierres, Mr. Dantons, or Mr. Anybodies, it is a matter of very little concern indeed.

Thus it is that those who exalt themselves over-
much it is very fit should be abased.

8. The conduct of our administration is also grievously blameable, in causing and obliging the neutral powers (so meritoriously inclined to preserve the peace and happiness of their people, by expressly desiring totally to avoid any partial, active part whatever in the present contest) to fly to arms, and join the numerous league against the liberty of France. This exertion of the high power and authority of this country, is unwarrantable, merciless, and detestable, by spreading in this manner, either by the error or wilful pleasure of a few beings composing our ministry, desolation,

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horror, and murderous war throughout Europe; all this too for an unjustifiable object; to alter the form of government adopted by another nation, which the people of that nation are not only satisfied with, but absolutely chuse, approve, and even fight to maintain; and still further than this too, the general consequence of this conduct towards neutral powers, tends to invalidate at once that great band of universal benefit, the laws of nations.

9. In the final object of the war, stated now to be, "the setting up by force of arms such a form of government in France, as well as such particular men to govern, as may be convenient and agreeable to Great-Britain and the coalesced powers," our administration err almost too grossly to need the explanation; wherefore having previously descanted sufficiently on a subject so self-evident, it will only here be little more than declared, that there never did exist since the world began, so great an insult to the understanding of mankind, as the attempt to gloss over this most flagrant and unparalleled

unparalleled act of injustice ; “ that of forcing upon a Frenchman for the government of his future life the will and opinions of a Briton.”

What ! shall a Prussian or German say to an Englishman, you shall have a despotic monarchy—Oh, no—forbid it, my countrymen !

Should our ministers, however, hereafter pretend that this stated and avowed object of the war was only a feigned pretence to distress the enemy, yet take very great heed to remember, that, nevertheless, the dangerous injury to all existing liberty remains perfectly the same, in an everlasting precedent, fraught with everlasting iniquity, injustice, and the worst of ills that can attend mankind.

10. The present object of the war exposes also another of their errors, which is that of expending the blood and treasure of this free country, in the extraordinary cause of very materially extending the Roman Catholic pre-eminence of sway (for still it maintains a considerable pre-eminence) although
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that sway is well known to be in its express nature so inimical to all freedom, by a much too great influence of priesthood, by the visible and secret operations and wiles of the court of Rome, as well as by a general combination of the Catholic powers, that any increase of it may be ultimately dangerous to the future existence of liberty even here ; for certainly, a general superiority of example in surrounding kingdoms, their authority, and unremitting endeavours, together with intercourse and favourable opportunity, might not at all improbably be one time or other taken advantage of, for its re-establishment in Great-Britain ; the timely cautious prevention of which here, and in all countries, as has been previously set forth, depends infinitely more upon the people than upon their governments, which will seldom be averse to that which advances their power.

11. Another error that would seem unaccountable to a general probity of intention is, that as our government had determined to pursue this war, they did not publish a manifesto of occasion
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and object, such as might have been deemed justly allowable, according to the beneficial fixed rules of nations; or, at least, such as would have been honourable and innocent in its future general effect and operation: that is to say, for occasion "to level that sudden and new acquisition of power in revenue, wealth, and strength, which France had obtained by confiscations and change of government; and for object the restoration of that reigning balance of power, to which these parts of Europe had been accustomed, and time had sanctioned." How far indeed the envy, suspicion, and uneasiness of the now combined powers, would then, with such their object, have warranted a league against France, might have been worthy of some consideration.

Neither could the preference which our administration have given to the unwarrantable object of their present avowal, have arisen from any apprehension of exposing to France its own strength and our jealousy; because the acquisition to their finances, and their experienced capability of exertion,

tion, were open and universally known, not only to the French themselves, but to all the world. Therefore there seems to remain but one grand ground-work to cause this strange preference, which has for its appearance, first, to fetter the French, that it may afterwards be the more easy to secure at will the people of Great-Britain.

12. Another error in our administration seems to be a want of due consideration of that terrible burthen of additional taxes, which must be entailed upon the people in consequence of this war; and what particularly warrants this assertion is, first, the object they have made choice of, the completion of which (if not perfectly unattainable) is of all objects that could have been started, by much the most difficult and expensive; and, secondly, the method or plan they have adopted, that is to say, the prosecution of a continental land war, which also, of all other methods, is likewise the most expensive; so that both these reasons strongly confirm the opinion, that the heavy load which the people are at present bearing, and the additional

additional actual distress they must now inevitably suffer, does not form that necessary part of the attention of our administration, which is absolutely requisite for the immediate, as well as future well-being of the kingdom ; the evil of which will be severely felt hereafter.

13. Another error seems to be also, a further want of consideration previous to the causing this war, which will be thus evinced : suppose for a moment two objects to be in view : the one, an uncertain conquest of further possessions in the East, West-Indies, or elsewhere, which further possessions, however probably and seemingly beneficial, must nevertheless entail, first, by the cost of their acquirement, such additional taxes upon the people, that no man can tell the consequences of ; and then afterwards, not only a certain continual very great expence in their maintenance, but also constitute in themselves hereafter, not improbably, a direct and actual bone of contention, occasioning future wars, productive of a further expence beyond all calcula-

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tion. Such then the one object, at all events, even after the incurring of expence, most uncertain of attaining. The other, suppose to be an attainable, sure, and certain acquisition of 30,090,000 of clear money; the query is, which of these two objects, the proper and necessary consideration of a prudent politician, would make choice of? The money to be sure; there can be no doubt of it; for the old saying becomes here very applicable, that one bird in the hand is worth two in the bush; therefore by the very same rule, when by this present war we are spending 30,000,000 of clear money in hand, for the object of such precarious conquests, productive of such consequences, it can only be likened to the reverse of that saying, "the giving two birds in hand for one in the bush;" and whether such conduct is a mark of a due consideration to the interest of this country, is left to the judgment of the reader, with only this further observation; that it is very seldom, if ever, that a mere point of honour, an affront, or an indignity of any kind, from one court to another, whether real or supposed, may not be settled to mutual

mutual satisfaction, by a wise and prudent conduct upon any such occasion, which wisdom and philosophy declare, in contradiction to modern practice, very rarely to warrant an appeal to arms.

Observe however, that the argument upon this article only applies to the occasioning and first entering upon the war ; for now indeed, as we have already incurred so heavy an expence, it seems unfortunately to have become rather matter of necessity, that we should still continue the contest, at least until we shall possess ourselves of a complete and ample reimbursement : happily for us, this, by changing our object, and the timely use of discreet and effectual measures, may be yet in our power ; and therefore, would it not be deemed unwarrantable to neglect such an occasion ?

14. The particular method of hostility which we are now pursuing, also constitutes another very material error. It has before been sufficiently explained, that as a principal, a military continental war is highly disadvantageous to these small islands

in every point of view, as well in consideration of numbers as ruinous expence ; and that therefore, upon giving the undeniably satisfactory reasons to our allies, which have also been before explained, the British troops, immediately on the security of Holland, should then have been withdrawn from the continent, and employed to infinitely better purpose elsewhere : and what further warrants this is, that as it is their duty, so Holland has doubtless by this time got into such full force, as to be even more than sufficient to guard their small line of frontier on that side, against any army that France can spare to attack them. Another additional and effectual reason for withdrawing the British troops, is likewise this ; that however the chance of particular battles may occasionally vary, there is not the smallest doubt but in the end, Prussia, Germany, and Holland, together with the Hessians and Hanoverians, must be more than equal to the north and north-eastern frontier of France. Of this we may rest sufficiently assured : and therefore it is evident, that unless for the particular destruction of Dunkirk (which purpose would better, because
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without expence, be answered to us, by a conquest of it by the Germans, to whom it would be highly serviceable) the money and blood which Great Britain is now spending and wasting so lavishly upon the continent, is neither more nor less than absolutely thrown away. The continental powers are well capable, and will doubtless take good care of themselves; our land assistance is neither effectual nor necessary; we can serve all intended interests better by our navy; and therefore it is both just and fit that we do so likewise—We must not neglect ourselves.

Having thus taken the necessary survey of the pointed errors of our late and current external politics; it remains only now to make a few short observations on such parts of our like internal conduct, as have already been heretofore stated, to form a ground-work of the further capital errors of the present administration.

15. If our religious state establishment, or any at all, is just and proper, the government respecting

ing it is certainly erroneous and wrong. With due submission to a valuable body of men, permission is desired to state a truth, "that the principle of the Roman Catholic system is not sufficiently liberal and beneficial to man in general, because it admits of and encourages too great a worldly authority over him." On which account, as well as its dissent to our own church establishment, it becomes particularly obnoxious to this free country. Yet notwithstanding this, the Romish principle is encouraged by our ministry upon these grounds; first, that the professors are and have been peaceable, friendly, and loyal; and, secondly, that there is nothing to apprehend from it. Those know very little indeed who do not know, that was either internal or foreign Roman influence to afford at any time an opportunity of opening the way to that persuasion, not the particular men, nor their present fair inclinations, but the power of irresistible nature, would generally cause them vigorously to embrace every such occasion; it is therefore unimpeachable nature only, that draws the preventive bar to the increase of the liberal enjoyment

joyment of a principle, so liable to break forth into injury. As to the further reason, it is true, there certainly has not lately been, neither is there at present the least cause of apprehension from that church; but to infer from this that there may not be, is downright folly; for an incautious encouragement, and consequent increase of the principle, is directly giving new birth to that very danger: it is also a worse argument to say, that because the Church of Rome is losing ground in Europe, from the certain discovery of either imperfect or pernicious effect, that Great Britain shall on that account encourage and revive an ill principle to mankind, which the wisdom of experience endeavours to explode. No, surely, it is one grand general duty to promote the most rapid decrease, even to an utter exclusion, of this, and all principles, of what nature soever, that are materially baneful to the welfare, freedom, and religious instruction of the world.

As to all other dissenting sects from our established church, while the existence of that is proper,

per, nature, and not men, places the very same bar between it and them, to any admissible increase of either their numbers or influence; and as it is impossible securely to admit, in all political establishments, a medium of right and wrong; therefore, on the presumption that our fixed establishment is right, administration are, according to every reasonable appearance, highly wrong, to permit any person of any one of the dissenting sects to keep a school, or indeed to suffer any public seminary whatever, for the education of youth in any principle inimical to the reigning religion; because that very permission, and that alone, must finally produce a contest for superiority, fatal to the peace and welfare of both parties; and not only in ours, but in all church state establishments, this particular attention to the education of youth, seems to be the only possible alternative for their general preservation. †

16. But previous to such enforcement of a general bending of the knee to any particular establishment of state religion, the requisition of which,
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however beneficial, being at the best sufficiently liable to the imputation of illiberal, it is most fit and highly necessary, that such establishment should, by a prior attention, be perfectly reformed, and rendered as pure and free from abuse in every form, appointment, action, and part of it, as an exertion of human ability and sincere endeavour can effect; for this is certain, that the spirit and understanding of the people here, would never suffer them to be compelled to worship at the shrine of known corruption; neither, indeed, could such a desire either be reasonably made or warranted; and therefore it would be needless to attempt more closely to unite the people of Great-Britain in religious tenet, until such a reform in our state establishment takes place; for a very recent instance places the necessity of it beyond dispute, viz. the Gazette of 27th September last, 1793, announces, with perfect unconcern, the plural preferment of one and the same reverend divine to both a bishoprick and deanery, although all pluralities in the church are, even to the judgment of a child, a direct and very detrimental in-

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fringement upon the order of the establishment ; this single instance therefore, out of an endless multiplicity, is fully sufficient in itself to confirm the necessity of such prior purification. But now, as to the ministerial advisers of this unwarrantable preferment at any, but particularly in these investigating times, they certainly err even beyond a common negligence ; and could a supposition be questionable, that they thus, or by any means wilfully stimulated the discontent of the people, there would be very little excuse for them indeed ; but whether proceeding from will, or the error of following the insufferable ill precedent of corrupt and stupid habitude, the effect in all these cases is, nevertheless, the same, and requires both correction and reprehension.

17. Our administration also most highly, if not fatally, err, in manifesting a present and future intention, of setting their faces, with no small inveteracy, directly against the very idea of reforming all or any of the abuses, that have by slow degrees crept into the various lines of executing the constitution

stitution of this kingdom; and whatever may be their motive, most certain it is, that if such abuses do exist, and the people know it, both which are rather dismal facts to state, the consequence of their continuance must be, displeasure and discontent productive of disaffection; and surely these are effects which wise and honourable ministers would most of all things wish to avoid; consequently it seems the more strange, that there should appear to be a total neglect of circumstances of such very high and dangerous import, especially as a remedy lays perfectly within their compass, viz. a general, complete reform throughout. This, it is true, would be attended with some trouble and difficulty, but by no means insurmountable; and its effect would unite one general satisfaction, if this can be deemed so; that out of 8,000,000 of people, 10,000, by the loss of places, pensions, livings, &c. &c. including the friends of those who might be affected by such losses, would doubtless complain heavily, while the remaining 7,990,000 would shout in joyous praise and attachment. But it is feared that administra-

tion go quite upon another plan ; that is, to continue the abuses, and stifle complaints by force ; it will however be well early to reflect, that light and reason are seldom long ere they become of themselves an army of invincibles, which, in despite of powerful endeavours to the contrary, is sure to make its own way good ; therefore, if such is the determination of administration, their conduct may be denominated, by the fairest imputation, impolitic, unjust, and dangerous ; the direct contrariety to the true policy of this country ; for how pleasing and satisfactory would be the voice of that minister, who should declare to the people, Go, be united, free, loyal, and content, the state shall be reformed, and grievances redressed.

18. Another error of the present administration, and the last that will be here stated, is that of a want of due attention to, or sense of, a great and leading object in all internal politics ; that is to say, the ease, convenience, and comfort of the people. On this point, it is the express duty of government to take most especial care, that no material,
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or, indeed, common article of life, be raised in price upon them more than is absolutely necessary for the immediate well-being of the state; and above all, that no particular body of men shall be disproportionately enriched, by partial, political measures, at the expence of the public injury and distress. X

It is therefore no more than what common justice to the public requires, to notice again, that the present price of sugar in this country, demonstrates to a certainty this their want of, or improper attention, in a very marked degree; for it is repeated, that the present extortionate price might, without distressing the West-India merchants, have been greatly moderated, or the extra indeed totally prevented, by means of the East India company; and although sugar may rank in the list of luxuries, it is nevertheless an article of such completely general consumption, as under its increased price, expressly to demand an equitable ministerial policy, very far different from that of being thrown, as it were, into the mouths of a few

few particular rich men, as a douceur, or sugar plumb, to serve mysterious purposes; to the exclusion and distressful detriment of a whole community, already labouring under burthens too vexatious to warrant such extremely regardless conduct as this, which, though forming the last in account, is nevertheless by no means the least of the errors of the present administration.

It seems also further necessary to point once more, even energetically, to this bright feature of internal policy, the ease, comfort, and convenience of the people, as well from a dread, as from an appearance of instant inattention, even to the very necessaries of life; for at this moment, the price of coals and firing has advanced, and is advancing in so rapid and enormous a degree, that, when the increased severity of the winter comes on, must be productive of such more than usual misery, want, distress, and very probable murmurs, as may be not only pitiable to foresee, but dangerous to trifle with. Then, in such circumstances, what will avail battles won, and the conquest of whole colonies or islands,

islands, while the immediate consequences of them are additional inconvenience, and even wretchedness at home? The daily and hourly suffering may at length outweigh the distant advantage, and ill indeed will betide that time; but however, let us hope such era will be very far distant; and that whatever is the present, or may have been the past, by the future wisdom of our ministerial councils, and a renovated attention to the true welfare of the kingdom, all will long be well.

Having thus set forth and enumerated the several particular charges of accumulated error against Mr. Pitt's present administration, there is little more to observe upon this subject, than that the ground-work on which the arguments are placed, is a solid foundation of political maxims and general established principles, so clearly self-evident, as to give birth to a full and easy confidence in their rectitude; for even although the shaft of partial interest should be levelled at their controversion, yet will they stand firm against the comparatively

comparatively enfeebled voice of deceitful sophistry, however enticing, however replete with periods round, or however cloaked under the shifting arts of reasoning, purposely disappointed, to lead astray the weaker judgment; for truth will make its way to the mind, carry conviction with it, and bear down all opposition.

There are some men, notwithstanding, of a disposition so pertinacious, obdurate, and inflexible, that having already erred, so they will persist in error. Should such therefore be the unfortunate nature of the administration alluded to, there can in that case be no chance of reparation to the foregoing stated evils, but in the absolute removal of such short-sighted statesmen; and to effect that, there are certain legal means to obtain a compliance; and those, and only those legal means, should be resorted to.

But what is much rather both hoped and expected (and also what is not totally improbable, because the present administration are, notwithstanding

standing their errors, indubitably possessed of high ability, by the very means of which they are much more likely to perceive, manfully to acknowledge, and to correct them) is, that their own discernment will, with the assistance of a trifling spur to their reflection, cause them voluntarily and candidly to reconsider such parts of their conduct as have become importantly questionable, and thereupon and thereto apply their own sufficiently capable remedies; for very different from long past and current opinions, but perfectly consistent with those which herein precede, measures, and not men, are held to be the first, grand, and most important, of all the public political considerations of the people.

Here then lastly, before the final dismissal of these reflections, it may be necessary to advert shortly to the temper of the times.

In all writings, political or not, it is an act of the most flagrant injustice, to attribute either more or less to the general meaning of them, than what

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the words actually and most expressly convey : but in politics it is superlatively so, because the importance becomes increased to a multiplied and public concern.

Notwithstanding this, there is not a more common error than to impute to any political treatise (more especially when prejudices run high, as they do at present) an intent far beyond what was ever designed. Such apprehension, however, ought by no means to deter any person from stating facts and opinions, that have for their objects, the common welfare ; for to give way to, or to be biassed by the faults of prejudice and folly, would be at once to be implicated in their guilt.

Thus then it may perhaps be said, that the principles of the several foregoing discussions are favourable to republicanism, or they may (for ought that can be assured to the contrary) thoughtlessly be construed into a desire of promoting a republican form of government in this country.

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Left, therefore, such should be the absurd frenzy of the hour, it may be prudent (not to leave a doubt on this score) to disclaim in the strongest manner every such intention.

It is true that one principal and beneficial object herein aimed at is, the very point of checking and abating the present boundless reigning furor of irritating abuse, that is so madly and prejudicially vented, equally between republicans and monarchists; and this for the best of reasons; because it is most certain that (particularly on the part of France) such unnecessary irritation must provoke infinitely more injury to the monarchy of Great-Britain, than a rationality of fair and proper reasoning.

Further it is also firmly maintained, that each and every principle that is herein set forth, is strictly conformable to our limited monarchy; not perhaps to the illiberal, imperious, and abused part of it, but most certainly to that which is just, rational, constitutional, and desirable; for the arguments

arguments throughout are indubitably such as the most staunch constitutionalist may at all times stand forward to profess, with honour to himself, and advantage to his cause.

In short, touching our own particular government, the general result amounts to this:—
Do wrong wilfully, and fear every thing—do right, and fear nothing.

Having now therefore declared thus far, it is hoped that no such false imputations will be ascribed to these endeavours; but, on the contrary, a confident and encouraging reliance is held, that the clear and evident purport will be taken, as it is honourably meant, to ward off threatening ills, and guard the patriot's glory—Great-Britain's prosperity.

THE END.

